tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Munduruca lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their counsel. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Munduruca economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was an elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Munduruca had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Munduruca village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to heal war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

10 Murphy E-6 (1902-1953) 1956
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burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Munduruca. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Munduruca is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Munduruca man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent aggression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Munduruca, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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but the Munduruků themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the kartiki is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Munduruků, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Munduruků, constitute self-conscious social groups. Munduruků generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBAI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Bibai, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Bibai was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutú, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabitutú busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Bibai, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Bibai gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucú.

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Bibai run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutú plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucú society and culture and of Bibai's position within it. For Bibai was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reestablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Bibai's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucú men and their chiefs. I knew nothing of the socialization of Bibai, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Bibai's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucú, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Bibai, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Bibai, son of Cacique [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutú." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucú addressed me, and